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Childhood, Human Rights and Adversity: the case of children and military conflict

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ABSTRACT: The Convention on the rights of the Child focuses global attention on those children living in adverse situations crystallising a global commitment to protecting children. Nevertheless, beyond these commitments to children, researchers have questioned whether the rights agenda captures the diversity of children's lives globally. Does the Convention connect with the lifeworlds of children playing formative roles? Drawing on critical research on children's rights I address this question through analysing the roles that children play in military conflict. I explore a human rights framework, which highlights the agency of child soldiers focusing on their material, social and political capacities.

Introduction

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is an important global frame of reference for conceptualising childhood (United Nations 1989). Children have some legal, social and cultural independence. In particular, article 12 gives children the right to participate, a formal mechanism drawn on by policy makers and professionals in recognising children's contributions and capacities. Yet, for the most part they are still construed as dependent on adults with the Convention stressing the responsibilities of institutions for children's provision and protection. Within a broader global discourse emphasising problems and challenges faced by children, the CRC also acts as a global standard, a frame of reference against which children's development and integrity can be judged. My argument is that while there is more recognition now of children's rights to participate, the CRC as part of a global

discourse fails to recognise the range and complexity of what children do, in particular, it neglects children's agency. I will illustrate my argument through an analysis of children's involvement in military conflict. Child soldiers are those under the age of 18 involved in military combat either directly as fighters or in ancillary roles as messengers, spies or cooks (Denov 2012). Global representations and international policies have an over-riding commitment to rescuing children, distancing them from any involvement in military conflict (Moss and Petrie 2002). The paper critically examines this predominantly protectionist position. Drawing on an emerging body of critical literature it goes beyond the protectionist imperatives of policy makers and generates possibilities for viewing children's military involvement in terms of their agency (Morrow and Pells 2012; Hansen and Nieuwenhuys 2013).

I draw on Oswell's (2013, p. 3) conception of agency: 'children are not simply beings, they are significant doings. They are actors, authors, authorities and agents. They make a difference to the world we live in'. Rather than focus on the victim status of child combatants that dominates the CRC and a global discourse on childhood, I build on work undertaken by anthropology on children's agency and military conflict (Utas 2005; Shepler 2004; Singer 2005). At the same time, I want to locate the concept of agency within a broader framework of human rights which recognises children's economic, social and political capacities. In the first part of the paper I examine the CRC and the protectionist agenda, which narrow our understanding of the capacities of child combatants. The rest of the paper outlines the different ways in which we can heighten the profile of child soldiers as agents, in the process offering a broader conception of children's human rights. In part two I focus on the tension between CRC's rejection of children's economic capacities and the idea of soldiering as a necessary form of material self-maintenance. In part three the emphasis is on the CRC's neglect of children's social networks set against children's capacity to develop these

networks in providing emotional and social security in highly challenging contexts. In part four the emphasis is on the absence of children's political capacities within the CRC set against children's political activism and the possibility of viewing children's military involvement as political action.

Discourse of Protection

The CRC has been understood in terms of the 3 'P's, children's rights to provision, protection and participation (Franklin and Franklin 1996). This connects with a conception of childhood located within welfare structures where children are entitled to material support and protection, with some recognition of their right to participate (Wyness 2015, Moss and Petrie 2002). However, this is a culturally narrow conception of childhood with limited recognition of the economic, social and political contributions that children make within their families and communities. Within the CRC there is some recognition of cultural diversity which provides a possible framework for interpreting childhood differently. Article 8 focuses on children retaining their cultural, religious and national identities; the preamble refers to the importance of 'traditions of cultural values' and article 5 refers to children's 'evolving capacities' in allowing for cultural factors that shape notions of child competence. Nevertheless, the concept of childhood suggested limits our understanding of children's involvement in the economic, social and political life of their communities.

While there are a number of articles that attend to children's participatory rights, Article 12 has become the political and institutional focal point. Children here have a right to articulate their interests: children have a voice. Innovative work has been undertaken on a range of participatory activities as a consequence of Article 12 (Percy-Smith and Thomas 2012). However, article 12 offers predominantly discursive rights: children are to be consulted on issues that directly affect them. This right is highly regulated with children's

capacities recognised on the basis of ‘age’ and ‘maturity’ (UN 1989). Moreover, it is clear that recent global statements on children accommodate the interests of children as children. At the same time there is also a strong sense that child-focused initiatives are viewed as a rehearsal for children’s futures as adults. What is missing is recognition of the multiple ways that children participate in the here and now helping themselves and their families to survive and sometimes thrive within their communities. These are roles that demonstrate their economic, social and political capacities.

In turning to the concept of the child soldier there is little explicit reference to military conflict in the CRC. Article 38 refers to the need for states to respect existing international law in protecting children implicated in military conflict. Article 39 focuses on the rehabilitation of children affected by military conflict. But it is the addition to the CRC, the 2000 Optional Protocol, which proscribes states and armies from recruiting children into the military (UN 2000). According to the protocol states are banned from the compulsory recruitment of children under 18. There is some dispute over the age at which children can voluntarily sign-up, but states are expected to raise the minimum age from 15. At the time of writing (May 2016) 161 countries including the USA have ratified the protocol and in 2005 the UN set up auditing processes ensuring that the protocol is recognised by states and armies (UN 2016; UNRL 2005). There is an implicit proscription of all children’s involvement in military conflict running through most of the articles. Issues of health, shelter, family and schooling dominate underpinning children’s material and psychological integrity. Military conflict thus compromises structures that provide material support for children.

The CRC connects with a global protectionist agenda: Western societies and international organisations adopt an image of the child soldier as a victimised and exploited child in calling for the abolition of the recruitment of children into the military. Protectionism takes legal forms: the UN Rome Statute of the International Court (1998) indicts heads of

state and rebel armed groups as war criminals for the recruitment of child soldiers under the age of 15. Recent test cases have resulted in the conviction of Thomas Lubanga, of the Union of Congolese Patriots, and Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia both involved in recruiting children into armed groups.

International commitments to protecting children are heightened by organisations that reject the idea of children's military involvement as a form of employment. Article 32 of CRC rejects child labour viewing it as a form of exploitation. This is supported by the International Labour Organisation which views the recruitment of children into the military as one of 'the worst forms of child labour', and condemned as a breach of children's human rights (ILO 1999). Moreover, countries have made claims of moral superiority in terms of the way they protect their own children vis-à-vis countries that allow the recruitment of child soldiers. Hart (2006) refers to the way that the Israeli government condemns the Palestinian authorities as immoral in the way that they recruit children soldiers.

Protectionism takes the form of safeguarding children through rehabilitation and reintegration. Interestingly, there is an alternative view of the child soldier as a protagonist, with intermittent stories of 'dangerous and disorderly' children appearing in the media (Denov 2012). These representations have been attributed to populations of countries where children are routinely recruited, predominantly in the poorer Southern regions such as Africa, South Asia and Latin America (Boyden 2003). Accountability and responsibility are argued to lie closer to the children themselves. During the Sierra Leone war in the 1990s children were viewed as 'criminals and bandits with no political purpose' (Beirens 2001, p. 13). Boyden (2003) refers to the way that Ugandan child soldiers were literally demonised, feared by communities because they were said to be contaminated by evil spirits. Local distrust and suspicion of former child soldiers was also apparent in the way that they had difficulties getting back into school (Shepler 2005).

In the post war context agencies work closely with communities affected by civil wars and the recruitment of children. These are communities which arguably are less sympathetic and more suspicious of children with front line experience. Verma (2012) refers to the way that the charity *Save the Children* used its influence as an aid agency, drawing on a protectionist discourse to challenge these local conceptions of former child soldiers returning to their villages. Social Workers located in rehabilitation centres in Uganda during the civil war were committed to providing the villages with a victimised narrative, an ‘ideal home coming’ story, in trying to restore the children to their hitherto generationally dependent state. Rather than viewing the return of child combatants with suspicion, local communities were encouraged to see them more sympathetically in terms of a 3 stage narrative: in the first phase children are at home living peacefully with their families. In the second phase children are forcefully taken into ‘the bush’, a harsh and unforgiving terrain where children are exploited, abused and traumatised as combatants. In the final phase the children return home and are successfully rehabilitated and reunited with their families (Verma 2012). Similarly, child soldiers are also able to draw on what Kepler (2005) refers to as ‘discourses of abdicated responsibility’. Children’s re-integration is arguably easier if they can claim that they were forced into taking part in conflict.

The post-war situation is significant in legal terms and draws on the tension between the dangerous and disorderly child and the child as victim (Denov 2012). In the post Sierra Leone civil war period UN special courts were set up to try and render those whom had committed war crimes during the conflict accountable (Wilson 2002). This posed a major problem for the courts where child soldiers were alleged to have committed some of these war crimes. However, the protectionist imperatives across all regions dominated with alleged child war criminals excluded from the court in favour of rehabilitation. This was reinforced by the Rome Statute, which can only prosecute adults for war crimes (Drumbl 2012).

The global protectionist discourse is also evident in the way that powerful narratives of exploitation present child soldiers as impressionable adolescents. Warlords exploit these notions in the way they recruit boys in their early teens with the promise of status, power and social mobility (Teferi 2007). Moreover, there are also fears articulated about how gangs of ex-child soldiers become a generation of lawless young men, disordered, lacking parental or adult guidance. Concepts of futurity are prominent here with the lack of appropriate social and educational structures storing up trouble for the future: the chaotic and rootless impulses of adolescence go unchecked creating social disorder as former child soldiers move into adulthood.

Global concepts of child soldiers oscillate between the disordered child and the generation of public suspicion and distrust, and the more powerful imperative to protect children. With the possible exception of intermittent attempts to render children accountable for their wartime activities, there is little recognition that children have any agency. In effect the global discourse on child soldiers generates a deficit model of childhood (Moss and Petrie 2002). The emphasis is on the loss of family, material support and social guidance and children's greater vulnerability to exploitation by others. Children here are viewed as relatively passive victims with little control over their lives, unable to understand and interpret their social conditions and unable to respond or adjust to them. Moreover, beyond the representations of child soldiers as fearless gangs of uncontrollable adolescents, we have limited knowledge of social and relational aspects of child soldier's lives. Framing child combatant's lives in these pejorative terms has the effect of limiting any understanding we have of children's economic, social and political capacities. Invoking the CRC here reinforces the role of institutions and states as interventionist forces rescuing, reforming and protecting children from circumstances viewed to be outside of their control. In the process this minimises children's agency and capacities.

In recent years a critical body of literature has reinterpreted the CRC in bridging the gap between local and global conceptions of childhood and more fully accommodating children's agency. Hanson and Niewenhuys (2013) refer to human rights in terms of children's 'living rights', where children articulate their interests based on their immediate living circumstances as well as their future aspirations. Morrow and Pells' (2012) focus on working with rights as processes highlights the inter-dependent nature of agency. Children's agency here is recognised and enacted in and through ongoing social processes within families and communities. This literature views agency and participation as constructed 'from below' incorporating children's material, social and political aspirations and capacities. A more embedded sense of agency becomes an integral feature of children's human rights.

We also need to focus on agency in terms of children making a difference within challenging circumstances. This difference is brought out by Utas' (2005) notion of 'tactical' agency: children as a relatively vulnerable group, are still able to make adjustments and have some control over their lives and those around them. We can see this in the way that children mediate poverty in a number of different contexts. Children in affluent countries make sense of their poverty by trying to protect their parents from demands made on them by schools and a global consumer culture (Ridge 2006). Similarly, in less affluent regions of the world despite attempts to end child labour, children are working alongside their peers and families as a means of mediating poverty. There is ample evidence from the voices of children and their families to support children's economic capacities (Bourdillon et al 2010). In turning to the positions, experiences and capacities of child soldiers, I want to argue that despite the vagaries and dangers that they find themselves in, children are able to 'navigate' their way through war by way of connections and alliances made that provide a degree of protection for themselves and those around them (Utas 2005, p. 408). Drawing on this critical material I want to offer a more expansive and refined conception of children's human rights which

accommodates children's economic, social and political contributions. In setting out children's human rights in these terms I am also trying to highlight the depth and complexity of their agency.

Children's economic capacities

Agency here focuses on children's capacities to contribute to their physical and psychological maintenance. I referred earlier to the CRC's emphasis on the provision of material resources by others. States, institutions, adults and, in particular, parents are charged with responsibility for ensuring children have shelter, food, education, in effect all the resources needed to ensure that they thrive in a material and psychological sense. While this first dimension of children's human rights would reiterate this level of provision it would also acknowledge children's agency in taking more responsibility for this provision. Children's material contribution is implicit in a later regional version of the CRC, the 1999 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. While the state has obligations towards the child as a rights holder, the family and community are more central with children having obligations towards others (Twum-Danso 2014). The implications are that children are more involved in maintaining the material integrity of themselves and others within their families and communities.

A broader conception of human rights places greater emphasis on the inter-dependent and intergenerational nature of this provision with children as well as parents contributing material support. Children's agency is embedded within these networks of relations. Children are involved from an early age in their own provision and protection. In quite different cultural contexts this takes place where provision is for others as well as the children themselves. Thus children who contribute to the domestic economy, children whom have

caring responsibilities as well as those children who earn an income for their families have their work recognised.

In exploring the contributions that child soldiers make to their own material survival and growth, a number of factors need to be discussed. First, in some countries, for example Sierra Leone, children are expected to work. Despite international attempts to stop child labour, recruitment into armed groups is more mundanely viewed by children and their families as a means of earning an income (Shepler 2005). Second, while there is some debate over the proportions of child soldiers forced or coerced into joining armed groups and those voluntarily signing up, there is a strong sense that civil war limits the kinds of choices that children may have had in peace time. Separation from family, disruption of schooling, the absence of support structures and the devastation of the local economy make it very difficult to think in terms of children's participation as laid down by the CRC. Despite these challenges it is still possible to discern children's involvement in their own survival. Children are able to make assessments as to the possible advantages of voluntary recruitment. Rosen (2005, p. 17) emphasises agency in arguing that 'child soldiers are rational human actors who have a surprisingly mature understanding of their predicament'.

For some children soldiering is a cultural expectation, part of a process of moving into adulthood. (Tefferi 2007). For other children military service is an escape from poverty. As one journalist commented on children's involvement in the civil war in the Congo

It is one thing to pull children out of the army, quite another to keep them out. Many join up to escape the poverty in a country ravaged by war: at least four boys have passed through the demob centre twice...The only people guaranteed not to starve in Congo are those with guns (Astill 2001)

Given that many of these children are separated from their families, their communities have been destroyed or ravaged by war and there are few options in terms of work, the military seems a viable option. Children here are deploying tactical agency in making an assessment that in some cases military involvement is a life-saving or at least a life stretching possibility: the military buys time for some children (Vautravers 2008). For children military service can also be a rational pragmatic option: children here seem to have understood the claim made by Rosen (2005, 17) that the “least dangerous place to be in war is the military”.

Thus, despite the economic difficulties experienced by war-torn communities, children demonstrate a capacity for material survival. An expanded conception of human rights would go beyond the commitment of institutions to provide for children and acknowledge children’s ‘economic’ agency: their ability to make adjustments to their lives in contexts of severe material uncertainty.

Children’s Social Rights

A second dimension of human rights being proposed here focuses on children’s social capacities. The home and the school are integral features of CRC, arenas where children’s identities and concepts of self are safely developed through regulated access to others outside of the home. Recent work suggests children play a formative role in maintaining existing familial and peer networks as well as generating new links. This broadens children’s human rights in that it recognises children’s capacity to maintain peer and inter-generational relations in problematic circumstances, something largely absent from current conceptions of children’s rights. The recognition of children’s social capital is crucial here. In Kendrick and Kakuru’s (2012) analysis of child-headed households in Uganda, poverty, civil war and the HIV/AIDS pandemic has considerably weakened children’s social and familial networks. For some the forming of child headed households has become a necessity where there is limited capacity within extended family and kinship networks. Children maintain these households

and contribute to their social welfare through the development of ‘funds of knowledge’ (Kendrick and Kakuru 2012). Children cultivated links with trusted adults and other children in similar circumstances in their schools and local communities to gain support and as a way of maintaining a basic level of food security. Where children were sometimes separated from their siblings due to the death of their parents, children went to great lengths to maintain emotional ties with their siblings. More generally, children are aware of the economies of scale in forming child-headed households, particularly when they move to the cities for work or for schooling (Tsegaye 2009). Agency here is evident in that despite challenging situations, children are adept at developing and strengthening their social capital with respect to peers and adults.

During civil war the quality of relationships that children have with their families, neighbours, faith leaders and peers are crucial (De Berry et al 2003). More specifically, for the child soldier the development of relations with others is a critical survival strategy: again, agency is demonstrated here through cultivating, creating and maintaining social relations with others. In life-threatening contexts, those at risk are likely to generate closer ties with peers. Moreover, the ability to maintain if not expand inter-generational relations is crucial – maintaining links with family and community where possible, but also developing ties with ‘trusting’ adults. Maintaining ties with their families was not always easy where children were removed from their families through abduction and coerced into violent acts that made it difficult for them to return home (Zack-Williams 2005). In Ishmail Beah’s (2007) memoirs of life as a Sierra Leonean child soldier, a dominant theme is the importance of retaining links with others, particularly, friends and peers. Beah (2007) was separated from his family at age 13, and much of his adolescence was spent in the Bush with peers he befriended running from rebel armed forces. His subsequent recruitment by the government forces involved shared rituals with other peers and a strong sense of camaraderie as they fought and

subsequently survived various battles and skirmishes. Beah (2007) and his peers demonstrated their tactical agency in the way they sought out what they considered to be trusted adult military leaders as part of a strategy for protection, survival and to some extent self-advancement.

Children were sometimes recruited through their peer networks. During the civil war in Sierra Leone some child soldiers were recruited on the street. These were children that inhabited the street as part of a gang. Although the street gang was socially structured, it was not always viewed as a very safe environment by gang members. Some viewed armed conflict as preferable to the street – providing a safer environment, what was referred to as ‘surrogate family relationship(s)’ (Zack-Williams 2005). Children deployed their agency in developing protective structures through the relationships they had with other soldiers. Children were able to attach themselves to more powerful adult soldiers in trying to secure their survival.

Even in the most traumatic of circumstances during war children are sometimes able to retain their links with their families. Girls not conscripted but nevertheless implicated in the Ugandan war in the 1990s had to overcome sexual exploitation. The rural population in North-east Uganda were moved by the government to ostensibly safe settlement camps in order to protect them from insurgent rebel forces. However, adolescent girls living in these camps were constantly at risk of being sexually abused by government soldiers. Girls often used their sexuality to keep themselves and their families alive by agreeing to go with one soldier for payment and some level of security for themselves and their families. De Berry (2004) refers to this as the commoditisation of sex with girls countering their vulnerability by using their burgeoning sexuality as a mechanism for survival. The girls were deploying tactical agency here adjusting to very difficult circumstances by taking some control of the situation. Throughout these periods girls were still able to maintain strong links with their

families. In communities where there was some anxiety and mistrust of child soldiers, there were difficulties maintaining ties with their families and communities (Thompson 1999). In Uganda, on the other hand, girls involved with male combatants were still living with their families, quite often with children borne from their liaisons with the soldiers and were able to play a full part in family life. In some contexts girls were able to use these links with male soldiers as a means of upward social mobility (Utas 2005).

As with children's economic agency there is very little recognition of children's social agency at an international level. The emphasis on adult protection through families, schools and agencies within the CRC, marginalises the tactical agency deployed by child soldiers in developing networks with others inside and outside the military as a means of self protection and survival. Moreover, children help to maintain links with their families even in the most challenging of circumstances. The significance of the social dimension of children's human rights needs to be recognised.

Children's Political Rights

A third dimension of an expanding set of human rights is to focus on children's political capacities. We have already argued that the CRC offers children a restricted discursive space within which they are able to articulate their interests. In theory we can make a case for children's discursive political capacities here if by political we are referring to the concept of citizenship and some degree of political participation. However, Mary John (1995) refers to the drafting of CRC and the absence of any conception of children's political rights. She cites a CRC briefing paper: 'the very status of a child means in principle that the child has no political rights' (1995, p. 106). It is unclear as to what is meant by political rights here, although there is no reference in CRC to children's formal right to vote. The idea of children having a democratic political role within the broader society goes against the dominant protectionist discourse, where children have limited access to the public realm of politics and

formal decision-making processes. Rather than focusing on institutionally recognised modes of participation, which emphasise hierarchically structured discursive forms, such as school councils, we might refer here again to more embedded conceptions of agency. The focus is on the relational and inter-generational nature of the roles that children play that has a formative influence within their communities.

By focusing on children's political capacities we are directly challenging a dominant view that children are likely to be unduly influenced by 'responsible' adults around them. Giner (2010) refers to the roles that children played in campaigning to help migrant children gain political asylum in both England and France in the early 2000s. While the authorities and local politicians accused the schools of indoctrinating pupils, Giner argues that children were effective activists articulating the difficulties that the asylum seeking families experienced through social networking sites such as Facebook and Bebo. With respect to child soldiers, similar criticisms have been made against governments and military institutions that child soldiers are 'institutionally abused': brainwashed into taking part in military conflict (Kimmel and Roby 2007). Beah's (2007) memoirs focus on the way that government forces coerced and drugged boys into becoming soldiers. In doing so, children's human rights are flagrantly breached by governments and institutions. Mawson (2004) cautions against assuming that all child soldiers are forced to fight. In the Sudanese war in the 1990s 80% of children were abducted into armed groups. However, we also have counter examples from other conflicts where children were politically motivated to take part. Peter's (2012) analysis of civil wars in West African states focuses on children signing up to fight partly as a consequence of perceived political injustices at local and national levels.

Mozambiquan girls took part in the civil wars during the 1970s and 1980s, viewing themselves as part of the struggle for independence and liberation. Part of this liberation struggle was the inclusion of all sectors of society in a process of nation building including

the feminist movement for the liberation of women. Thus many of the girls that took up arms to fight against the colonial powers also viewed their involvement as a way of escaping their heavily gendered futures

Upon joining the Destacamento Feminino, (DF) many told me, they delighted in the fact that their lives would not be limited to tending agricultural fields, carrying water, cooking and caring for children. Life as a DF would give them greater range of movement across social and geographical landscapes (Beirens 2001 pp13-14)

In the recent past adolescent political commitment was strong in South Africa articulated through the anti-apartheid movement. Rather than being insulated and protected from the world of politics, the young here were at the forefront of political movements to rid the country of the apartheid regime. In part this was due to the expansion of the education system in the 1960s designed to generate a more educated black workforce, but in the process created a politically conscious population of black children and youth. This consciousness was articulated through the slogan 'Liberation now, education later' and symbolised by the Soweto Uprising in 1976 where children took to the street en masse in their school uniforms. The trigger for this political activism was the imposition of the 'foreign' Afrikaner language by the apartheid regime onto the school curriculum. Many children demonstrated and were gunned down by government forces. As with most children caught up in civil war, there is little sense in which children can be insulated from conflict. Children need to be seen as being part of the time and social and political context within which the conflict takes place. Children's political agency needs to be recognised as part of ongoing struggles that many communities face on a daily basis.

Conclusion

I argue in this paper that we need to go beyond the articles of the CRC in recognising children's agency in the most adverse of circumstances. The CRC is a framework within which the responsibilities for children's lives are clearly laid out for states, institutions and 'responsible' adults. With respect to military conflict, in all sorts of different ways governments and rebel armies have breached these responsibilities. This paper acknowledges the dominant political narrative of states providing for and protecting children during civil war. At the same time children's participation in their provision and protection needs to be more explicitly recognised at a global level. The CRC's terms of reference are too narrow with article 12, the right to participate, unable to accommodate the expansive nature of children's agency.

Despite the global commitment to protecting children from war and conflict, children often have to take care of their own material integrity as well as supporting others. In the process this often means maintaining and creating social networks within which there are spaces for self-protection, social development and self-advancement. Thus, it is not enough to articulate the lives of child soldiers in terms of a deficit conception of childhood. Within the broader rights discourse there is a clear tension between protection and agency. The contemporary concern over child soldiers accentuates the former obscuring the different ways that children participate in and through military conflict. Despite the physical and emotional challenges that child soldiers face, they are still capable of 'navigating' war through the deployment of a tactical agency. In doing so they contribute to their material and social survival and demonstrate their capacity to take political action (Utas 2005). This paper sets out a framework within which children's human rights acknowledge children's agency in terms of these capacities.

It is worth exploring what this recognition of agency might mean in terms of policy and practice, particularly within post-war situations. Three points come to mind. First, there

needs to be some recognition of how child soldiers 'grow up' through their war experiences, with notions of independence and voice critical features of any programmes of support. A second related point is that given the protectionist context, there is a need to be wary of the possibility of infantilising former child soldiers (Tefferi 2007). Third, rehabilitation needs to incorporate a degree of continuity with their former roles as combatants, particularly in terms of the economic and material roles.

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